

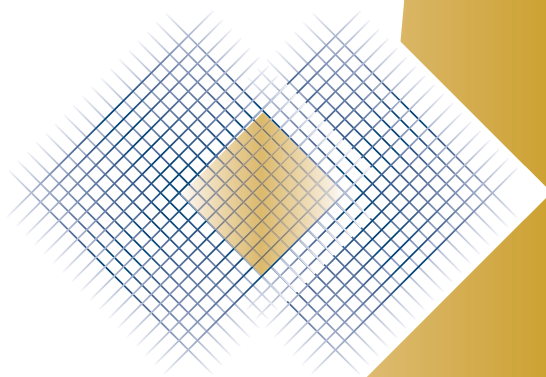


Office of the  
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# Going Forward:

The Evolution of Quebec's  
English-Speaking Community



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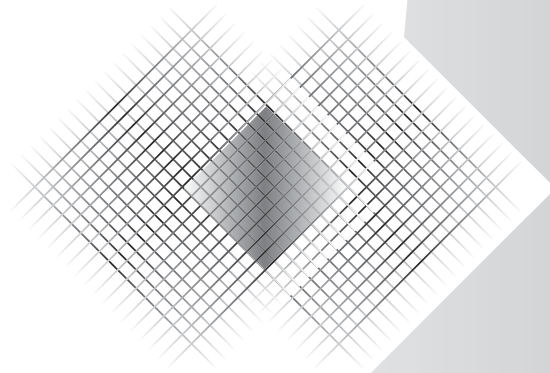
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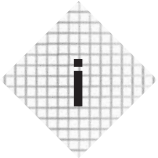
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# CONTENTS

<b>Message from the Commissioner of Official Languages</b> .....	iii
<b>Executive Summary</b> .....	1
<b>1. Demographics</b> .....	6
A. Size of the Quebec English-Speaking Population .....	6
B. Share of Quebec English-Speaking Population .....	10
C. Anglophone Distribution .....	11
D. Aging Anglophones .....	12
<b>2. Migration</b> .....	13
A. Interprovincial Migration .....	13
B. International Immigration .....	15
<b>3. AngloDiversity</b> .....	18
A. Origins .....	18
B. Pluralism .....	19
C. Mixing .....	21
<b>4. Socio-Cultural Characteristics</b> .....	23
A. Educational Attainment .....	23
B. Employment and Income .....	24
<b>5. Language Knowledge and Use</b> .....	26
A. Bilingualism .....	26
B. Language of Public Use .....	27
C. Anglophones at Work .....	28
<b>6. Education</b> .....	29
A. Rights Holders .....	29
B. Elementary and High Schools .....	32
C. Allophones and English Education .....	36
D. Higher Education .....	38
<b>7. Health Care Institutions</b> .....	42
<b>8. Servicing the Community</b> .....	45
A. Institutional Confidence and Satisfaction .....	45
B. Institutional Representation and Leadership .....	46
<b>9. Anglophone Priorities and Concerns</b> .....	49
A. Inclusion and Disempowerment .....	51
B. Social Distance .....	52
<b>10. Conclusion</b> .....	55
<b>Appendices</b> .....	56
<b>References</b> .....	58

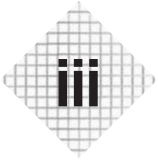




# MESSAGE FROM THE COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Over the years, there have been significant changes in the English-language population in Quebec. In order to better understand these changes and their implications, I commissioned a study on the current state of the English-language population in the province. The study, titled *Going Forward: The Evolution of the Quebec English-Speaking Community*, prepared by Mr. Jack Jedwab, Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies, provides the reader with valuable insights with respect to the composition of this community, and also looks at areas that could present challenges and opportunities for the future for English speakers living in Quebec.

This report contains detailed and interesting findings about the Quebec English-language community and how it has evolved over time. Key trends include an exploration of the community's demographics, such as aging and population. It also looks at important socio-cultural factors such as the regional, ethnic and religious characteristics of this group. Two major areas – health and social services as well as education – also present findings that speak to present-day concerns of English speakers in Quebec. The study also probes whether this population group views knowledge of both English and French as an advantage in today's economy.



Linguistic duality is a value that Canadians hold dear, and all of us have a role to play in making sure that this value remains strong and steadfast. It is my hope that the results of this study will serve to inform decision-makers at all levels and in all sectors of our society, so that the vitality of Canada's English and French linguistic minority communities is sustained and nourished.





# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Introduction

Among the common historic and contemporary generalizations about Quebec's Anglophone<sup>1</sup> community is the assumption that it once acted like a majority, and reluctantly made a difficult transition to minority status. As one commentator put it, "prior to the 1960s, Anglophone Quebecers behaved like a self-confident majority by combining a sense of superiority in educational and cultural terms with their commanding position in the Quebec economy" (Stein, 1985). Further generalizations often hold that after the 1960s, Anglophones purportedly adopted a dissonant and defensive attitude in reaction to greater intervention by the provincial government on community life.

Whatever the degree of truth about such generalizations, it is clear that as the provincial government acted on its commitment to promote the French language and affirm Quebec's autonomy, the province's Anglophone population individually and collectively renegotiated its minority status.

It is also clear that some four decades after the Quiet Revolution, the Quebec Anglophone population has undergone a profound demographic transformation and is now a population with enhanced ethnic, linguistic, racial and religious diversity. Significant population losses have shifted needs and priorities.

While the Government of Canada is committed by law to support the vitality of Quebec Anglophones, the principal needs of the community are met under provincial law. At the same time as the population grows more dependent on the Quebec government to maintain its institutional well-being, there is a very low presence of Anglophones in the province's public administration.

Over the past 40 years, the extent to which Anglophones are able to speak French has risen dramatically, but the trend has not been accompanied by an increased level of comfort. A persistent sense of community disempowerment is reflected in the titles of some of the more popular texts on Quebec Anglophones, such as the satiric *Anglo Quebec Guide to Survival* (Freed and Kalina, 1984), the historic *Forgotten Quebecers* (Rudin, 1984) and the political *Community Besieged* (Stevenson, 1999). Recent essays on the condition of the Anglophone community have proposed strategies designed to facilitate continued adaptation to Quebec's evolving reality. As for what unites the Anglophone population, Reed Scowen (1991) contends that an English Quebecer is someone, regardless of country of birth or ethnic origin, who wishes to live, and continue to live, in English.

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this study, the terms 'english speakers', 'english-speaking community', 'english-speaking population' and 'Anglophones' are used interchangeably, unless otherwise specified.

Strategies aimed at improving the condition of Quebec Anglophones are closely tied to the manner in which the community is defined. In short, the importance accorded to the origins of Quebec's Anglophone population and its current reality influence the proposed approaches to bolster community vitality. Few Anglophones invoke or refer to the historic presence of the community to justify recognition of institutional needs by provincial authorities. Some have expressed concern with the inability to rally their diverse community around a common history and shared culture (Caldwell, 1994).

## A Report on English Speakers in Quebec

This report characterizes, in the most detailed presentation to date, the Quebec Anglophone population and its evolution over time. It speaks to the community's residential patterns, mobility, diversity and institutional characteristics. Employing a rich body of demographic, statistical and attitudinal data from census and other sources, it provides a portrait of the Anglophone population at the turn of the new century that aids a wider understanding of the community. The study also focusses on how Quebec's English speakers perceive their current priorities and vision of the future.



### Approach

This study is based on the most detailed data possible. The author, Jack Jedwab, has analysed demographic, statistical and attitudinal data from the *2001 Census* as well as from other sources such as results from a survey done by the CROP firm for the Missisquoi Institute.

Of note is the question of how the size of Quebec's English-speaking population is defined, as its number can range from 600,000 to 900,000.

The size of the population depends on the definition used. The Treasury Board Secretariat of the Government of Canada characterizes Anglophones and Francophones in terms of their first official language – the one they declare as reflecting their primary personal identification. The Quebec Treasury Board uses mother tongue to estimate the size of a linguistic population. These definitions produce different estimates of the size of the population.

When language used most often is the basis for definition, 2001 census data show that Quebec Anglophones represent 11.6 percent of the population. When mother tongue is used, the representation is 8.3 percent of the provincial population. When the first language spoken is used, the representation is 12.9 percent.

## Main Findings

### The Evolution of the Quebec English-Speaking Community

There have been significant population losses in the Quebec English-speaking community over the past few decades, modifying its needs and priorities. The result is an English-speaking population that is diverse in its socio-economic, regional, ethnic and religious characteristics.

There was a net loss of more than 29,000 Anglophones from interprovincial migration between 1996 and 2001, with 18,000 moving from the Montréal region. The greater percentage loss, however, was outside the Montréal region, whence 11,000 of the English-speaking population left the province.

Surveys show that among English-speaking immigrants expressing the intention to leave, a lack of educational and economic opportunities was cited. Non-immigrant English speakers referred more frequently to political considerations. A greater share of English-speaking immigrants suggested that discrimination was a factor in the decision to leave the province, a sentiment shared by few non-immigrants.

One result of interprovincial migration is an aging English-speaking population in Quebec, with median ages for the population well above the average. Some 30 percent of Quebec Anglophones expressed little confidence about keeping young people at home.

### Health Care

Quebec Anglophones widely agree that the principal concern of the community is access to health care. This access varies according to the community's demographic situation, its economic standing and the nature and degree of state intervention. As such, Quebec Anglophones are more likely than Francophones to first turn to family rather than public institutions.

There is a relationship between the demographic weight of English-speaking communities and the availability of health and social services in the English language. In those regions outside Montréal where the English-speaking community forms less than 2.4 percent of the population, the availability of such services was low. Among these regions are the Lower St. Lawrence, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, Chaudière-Appalaches, Lanaudière, Québec and the Mauricie.



Montréal, the Gaspé and the Outaouais regions offer the best opportunities to secure such services in English. However, this does not imply that there are problems in other regions, or that Montréal is without problems in obtaining services in the English language.

## Education

The decline continues in the number of mother-tongue-English enrolment in English-language schools, and there is a greater presence of Francophone youth in those schools, pointing to the need for continued emphasis on protecting and strengthening the vitality of English-language schools.

The English-language school system has undergone considerable change since the early 1990s. Mother-tongue-English enrolment in Quebec English-language schools has dropped somewhat (2.5 percent), while mother-tongue-French enrolment nearly doubled, with virtually the entire increase occurring outside the Montréal region.

A slightly higher number of Anglophones (17.8 percent) have not graduated from high school, compared with 16.7 percent of Francophones. In higher education, however, 27.9 percent of Anglophones hold university degrees, compared with 16.9 percent of Francophones. There has been a 20-percent decline in the number of Anglophones enrolling in English-language CEGEPs in Montréal, whereas the number of Francophones remained relatively stable. A slight increase was apparent in the number of Anglophones enrolled in Montréal's French-language CEGEPs over that same period. English-language CEGEPs located in the regions outside Montréal are dominated by mother-tongue-French students.



## Language Use: Rural and Urban Difference

According to the 2001 census, over one-fifth of English-speaking Quebecers use the French language most of the time in their place of employment. In Montréal, three-quarters of Anglophones use mostly English at work, and another 10 percent report using both languages equally. Outside Montréal, 30 percent of English-speaking Quebecers use French most of the time at work. The figure rises in the Québec City region where nearly two-thirds of mother-tongue Anglophones use mostly French in the workplace.

The 1999 study conducted by the Conseil de la langue française shows that more than 90 percent of Quebec Anglophones consume media and cultural products in the English language. The study also shows that, in the Montréal region, most Anglophones conduct their business in the English language.

## Economic Conditions

Knowledge of English and French is central to the economic advancement of Quebec Anglophones. In 2001, the rate of unemployment among mother-tongue Anglophones aged 25 to 34 years with knowledge of both English and French was 7.5 percent (it was 7 percent in Montréal), with an unemployment rate of 14.3 percent for those Quebec Anglophones who knew English only. In contrast, bilingual Francophones had a rate of unemployment of 5.5 percent (in Montréal it drops to 5 percent) compared with 8.8 percent who knew French only.

In 2001, the unemployment rate for mother-tongue Anglophones was above the regional average in nearly every part of the province with the exception of Montréal. The median individual income of Quebec Anglophones is slightly ahead of that of mother-tongue Francophones.

Whereas in 2000 some 12.6 percent of Quebec's mother-tongue Francophones were living below the low-income cut-off line, 14.6 percent of the province's Anglophone population were in that situation.



5

## Conclusion

It is always difficult to predict the future, and this certainly holds true for Quebec's English-speaking community. The demographic trends point to communities that are far more mixed, characterized by a growing multiethnic and multiracial community. In addition, there is a significant increase in the mix of English and French among the population. Institutionally, this has meant that schools as well as health and social services, while directing services at the English-speaking community, also must address pluralistic clientele and reflect the dichotomy between Montréal and the rest of Quebec.

The challenges facing the English-speaking community that elicit strong concern in surveys are not limited to numbers or access to services, but also relate to issues of inclusion and belonging. It is likely the reason that many Anglophones evoke equality as a major concern. Neither the growing diversity nor *metissage* (mixing of languages) in the Quebec English-speaking population has modified this view, and exploring the trends in this report will allow for better support of the vitality of the Quebec English-speaking community.

As a result, the information in this report is aimed at permitting researchers to further explore not only the diverse realities, but also the many challenges confronting Quebec's English speakers. It is also hoped that it will assist community planners in developing the strategies needed to address community needs of Quebec's English-speakers.

# 1. DEMOGRAPHICS

## *Summary:*

*Depending on the criteria used, the number of Quebec Anglophones can vary by as much as 300,000. Revisions to census questions further modify the linguistic profile of the population, as nearly 1.2 million Quebecers report speaking some English in their homes. Of that number, nearly 60 percent speak English either “only” or “mostly.” Many Quebec Anglophones speak either some French at home or non-official languages. The movement of Quebec Anglophones within and outside the province has also had a significant impact, with net losses of more than 29,000 Anglophones from interprovincial migration between 1996 and 2001.*

## A. Size of the Quebec English-Speaking Population

The number of Anglophones in Quebec has been the object of much discussion and debate among policy makers and community groups. Stevenson (1999) contends that there is no consensus on how the Anglophone community in Quebec should be defined, but the definition used has a profound impact on the assessment of population needs and the distribution of services.

The group’s estimated size depends upon the system of classification used by governments or non-governmental organizations. The difference lies in census categories that focus on the language first learned and/or the language first spoken and spoken in the home. As each category causes some variation in numbers, the choice has a potentially significant bearing on the degree of service extended to the group:

- ◆ **Mother tongue (MT)** is the language first learned and still understood.
- ◆ The **first official language spoken (FOLS)** and the **language spoken at home (LSH)** are the most commonly used criteria for establishing the size of the linguistic group.

When referring to public sector employees, the Treasury Board Secretariat of the Government of Canada defines Anglophones and Francophones by their official language declared, reflecting primary personal identification. This definition contrasts with that used by the Quebec Treasury Board, which refers to mother tongue when estimating the numbers of the province’s Anglophones. Table 1 shows that the size of the population can vary as much as 300,000 people, depending on the definition. Ultimately, the debate over the size of the English-speaking community will centre on defining those 300,000 individuals whose primary, but not necessarily first-learned language, is English. This group for the most part resides in the Montréal area.

Underlying such estimates is a debate about who is Anglophone, who is Allophone and, to a lesser degree, who is Francophone. Although it is used to a lesser extent by governments and communities, the variable seems to be the language spoken most often at home, a number that includes many who did not first learn English but who use it primarily in their homes. In the Quebec Anglophone population, the number generated by using this criterion tends to fall somewhere between the mother tongue and first official language figures. The difference can be attributed to the first-learned language by immigrants and their descendants, which was neither English nor French, who adopted the use of English in their homes. The figure also includes mother-tongue Anglophones and Francophones who switched to another language in their homes.

**Table 1 – Quebec Anglophones, by Mother Tongue, Language Spoken Most Often at Home and First Official Language Spoken, 1971-2001**

Quebec Anglophones	Mother tongue	Home language	First official language
2001	591,379	746,898	918,955
1996	621,863	762,457	925,830
1991	626,202	761,808	904,305
1986	680,120	791,377	—
1981	693,600	806,800	
1971	789,200	886,100	

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1971-2001.

The definition of Anglophone (mother tongue or home language) also affects estimating the loss in numbers to the Quebec Anglophone community over the 1971-2001 period. When mother tongue is used as a criterion, the loss is around 25 percent, whereas the loss is 15 percent when defined by home language. In fact, using the FOLS criterion, the numbers show a slight growth between 1991 and 2001.

Yet another critical consideration in determining the size of the Anglophone population is the distribution of those individuals who make dual or multiple declarations of English, French and non-official languages as either first learned or used in the home. The totals in Table 1 were based on the method of distribution used by part of Statistics Canada, which allocates half of dual declarations to the relevant language communities. Traditionally, such dual declarations are more common for first-official-language-spoken respondents than they are on the basis of language spoken most often at home or mother tongue.

**Table 2 – Quebec Anglophones, by Single and Multiple Declarations of Mother Tongue, Language Spoken Most Often at Home and First Official Language Spoken, 2001**

Quebec	English only	English and French only	English and other
Mother tongue	557,040	50,060	15,040
Home language	700,890	59,500	24,605
First official language	828,730	180,450	—

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

Modifications to the question on language spoken at home in the 2001 census shed important light on the linguistic diversity of the Quebec Anglophone population because there is a greater multiplicity of responses. Revisions to the census question were made because the previous measure on the language spoken most frequently at home did not permit analysts to know the actual number of Francophones outside Quebec who spoke French at home but less often. The revised question includes persons that “only, mostly, equally or regularly” spoke an official language at home.

As applied to Quebec’s English-speakers, the revised census question language spoken at home substantially modifies the linguistic profile of the population. According to the revised 2001 home language question, nearly 1.2 million Quebecers speak some English in their homes. Province-wide, nearly 60 percent of mother-tongue Anglophones speak English only, or mostly, with some 63 percent of Montréalers doing so. Outside the Montréal region, there are 49 percent of mother-tongue Anglophones who speak English only, or mostly, in the home.

**Table 3 – Quebec Anglophones, by English Language Spoken at Home Only, Mostly, Equally and Regularly. Quebec Province, Montréal and the Rest of Quebec, 2001**

	Quebec	Montréal	Rest of Quebec
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,190,435</b>	<b>886,050</b>	<b>304,385</b>
Only	480,400	376,720	103,780
Mostly	220,850	175,990	44,860
Equally	95,970	74,350	25,620
Regularly	393,575	202,465	191,110

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.



Viewed on the basis of what they speak at home, nearly as many Quebecers reported speaking English as they did English and French. Those speaking the English language in Montréal homes very often do so in conjunction with a non-official language. Outside the region, as seen in Table 4, more spoke some combination of English and French in their homes, rather than English alone.

**Table 4 - Quebec Anglophones, by English Only Language Spoken at Home and in Combination with French and Other Languages, Quebec Province, Montréal Region and the Rest of Quebec, 2001**

	Quebec	Montréal	Rest of Quebec
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,190,435</b>	<b>886,050</b>	<b>304,385</b>
English only	480,040	376,620	103,420
English and French only	477,960	296,915	181,045
English and other only	164,515	150,600	13,915
English, French and other	67,920	61,915	6,005

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.



The revised home language question provides further evidence of the impact of mixing between Anglophones and Francophones. This integration has marked the Anglophone community and is rapidly redefining the English-speaking community outside the Montréal region. On the other hand, in Montréal, the interaction between Anglophone and Allophone is as much a defining element in the community's evolution as the mix of English and French.

Outside the Montréal region, there are nearly the same number of persons of English mother tongue (148,000) as there are individuals who most often speak English at home. In fact, in the rest of the province, approximately one-quarter of those whose mother tongue is English speak French most often in their homes. The English-language population outside Montréal did not decline because of the 2 percent of the mother-tongue-French population who, in 2001, spoke English most often at home.

There is considerable variation in the extent to which such language shifts occur. In the Québec City area, mother-tongue Anglophones are just slightly more inclined to speak English (3,590) than French at home (3,360). It is important to note that the near 50 percent shift in the degree of those first learning English to speak French in their home is somewhat offset by the 950 mother-tongue Francophones in the region who speak English in their homes. In Sherbrooke, of the 6,720 mother-tongue Anglophones, some 1,345 used French most often in their homes, while 670 mother-tongue Francophones in that region switched to English.

## B. Share of Quebec English-Speaking Population

In addition to the relative size of the language groups, the weight (or share) of the population is also affected by the designation used to determine community numbers. Again, depending on the criteria, the weight of regional Anglophone groups can shift within the province-wide Anglophone community, as well in a particular region or municipality. The use of mother tongue generally results in the greatest share loss. Quebec Anglophones represented 8.3 percent of the provincial population in 2001, compared with 8.8 percent in 1996. With the use of home language as definition, Anglophones represent 11.6 percent of the population, and 12.9 percent when defined by first official language spoken.

As of 1996, employing the mother tongue criterion yielded a greater number of Allophones than Anglophones in the province, which news that generated a great deal of media attention at the time. The 1996 figures show that Anglophones represented 45.6 percent of all non-Francophones and, some five years later, their share dropped to 42.3 percent on the basis of mother tongue.

In the Montréal region, the gap between mother-tongue Anglophones and Allophones widens further. Anglophones represent over 400,000 individuals, approximately 40 percent of the non-Francophone population. On the basis of home language, the proportion of Anglophones within the non-Francophone population rises to over 550,000 (or 60 percent) of the Montréal region's non-Francophone population, with the difference largely attributable to the use of English in the homes of persons whose mother tongue was neither English nor French. In 2001, there were approximately 625,000 mother-tongue Allophones, and their numbers declined to 368,000 on the basis of home language. However, when home language is the criterion, the share of Anglophones rises to 60 percent of the region's non-Francophone segment.

If mother tongue is the criterion used, then the Anglophone population in the Montréal region accounts for nearly three-quarters of the province's English-language community. If either home language or FOLS definitions are employed, then the region's share of the provincial Anglophone population rises slightly above 80 percent.

## C. Anglophone Distribution

The distribution of a community in a particular territory can have a profound impact. Several experts concur that residential concentration of communities tends to afford better opportunities for the preservation of group identity. Such concentration facilitates stronger institutional support, community vitality and greater social interaction among members of the same community. The same is true for preserving official language minorities over extended periods of time. Generally, however, analysts have expressed concern over ethnic and racial concentration. It is seen as an impediment to integration into the larger society, and one that very often carries economic penalties (Balakrishnan and Gyimah, 2003).

Generalizations about the Quebec Anglophone population tend to arise from perceptions of the economic and social condition of the Montréal English-speaking community. In the Montréal region, mother-tongue Anglophones represent some 13 percent of the population. Between 1996 and 2001, the real numbers declined by over 4 percent from 426,605 to 408,185. Approximately 300,000 of the region's mother-tongue Anglophones reside on the Island of Montréal (rather than the entire region), and represent over 17 percent of the Island population (on the basis of mother tongue).



Largely because of this Montréal contingent, Quebec's Anglophone population has traditionally been viewed as having high residential concentration. The movement of Quebec Anglophones within and outside the province has had a significant impact on the areas in which they are concentrated. Of the net loss of more than 29,000 Anglophones from inter-provincial migration between 1996 and 2001, some 18,000 were in the Montréal region and over 11,000 were in the rest of the province. In percentage terms, clearly the greatest loss was to the Anglophone population residing outside the Montréal region, which was trimmed by approximately 7 percent (from 160,000 in 1996). However, when accounting for declarations of both English and French mother tongue, the decline is reduced to proportions similar to those in the other two areas.

There were important variations in the population losses outside Montréal over the years from 1996 to 2001. During that period, there was a 20-percent loss in the combined Anglophone populations of Québec City (9,745 persons), the Gaspé (1,800 persons) and Trois-Rivières (1,430 persons). Declines to these communities were largely attributable to movement from that region to other parts of the province as well as to other parts of the country. The Anglophone population of Sherbrooke (8,015) also fell by 10 percent. In the Outaouais, there was a slight increase in the number of Anglophones (32,950) but this was offset by growth in the size of the other language groups, so that the Anglophone share dropped from 13.3 percent to 12.8 percent between 1996 and 2001.

## D. Aging Anglophones

The overall aging of the Anglophone population has been a major problem arising from the net loss of younger Anglophones through intra-provincial and interprovincial migration. Whereas in 2001 some 12.3 percent of all Quebecers were over the age of 65, among mother-tongue Anglophones, some 13.6 percent were in that age group, compared with 12 percent of the province's Francophones.

At 37.1 years of age, the median age of Quebec's mother-tongue Anglophone community is less than that of the mother-tongue Francophone population (38.7 years). Younger Anglophone communities are in Montréal, Laval, Montérégie and the Outaouais regions. Outside the major urban centres, the regional Francophone population is generally younger on average than the Anglophone groups. Anglophone communities in such regions of Gaspé (46.9 years), Bonaventure (46.1 years), Argenteuil (45.4 years) and Québec City (44.0 years) possess median ages well above the average in their respective regions.

## 2. *M*IGRATION

### *Summary:*

*Interprovincial and international migration has been the principal factor in modifying the character of the Anglophone community. Beginning in the 1970s, Anglophone Quebecers left the province in substantial numbers and the number of English-speaking immigrants dropped considerably. While more recent losses arising from interprovincial migration are less substantial than those incurred between 1971 and 1986, on the basis of mother tongue, the Anglophone population declined nearly 7.5 percent (approximately 30,000 people) over the period from 1996 to 2001. Since the 1970s, mother-tongue-English immigrants as a proportion of Quebec's total immigration have declined in both numbers and percentage. Once accounting for as much as one-fifth of all Quebec immigrants, today they are closer to one out of 40 new arrivals in the province. Still, many immigrants speak English as a second language and would qualify as members of the English-speaking community based on the first-official-language-spoken criterion. During the 1990s, some 48,000 immigrants arriving in Quebec spoke English as a second language. Immigration helps offset the Anglophone community population losses arising from interprovincial migration.*

13

### **A. Interprovincial Migration**

Canada's 2001 Census showed that the Anglophone population declined by 7.5 percent or 30,000 people. The decrease was largely attributable to net losses from interprovincial migration between 1996 and 2001. The gap between those leaving and new people moving into Quebec was 57,000, accounting for the highest net population loss in Canada between 1996 and 2001. The departures were from all language communities, with those between the ages of 20 and 40 being most inclined to leave. Still, Quebec Anglophones suffered the biggest net loss, with more than 28,730 persons leaving, accounting for 50 percent of the overall decline. Table 5 shows that the losses in the 1996-2001 period were greater than those of the two previous five-year periods, but remain substantially lower than those witnessed in the quinquennial periods between 1971 and 1986.

**Table 5 – Interprovincial Migration of Anglophones between Quebec and Other Provinces of Canada, by Quinquennial Period 1971-2001**

Anglophones			
	Migration out of Quebec	Migration into Quebec	Net loss
1996-2001	52,030	23,300	28,730
1991-96	49,995	25,880	24,115
1986-91	53,800	31,600	22,200
1981-86	70,600	29,000	41,600
1976-81	131,500	25,200	106,300
1971-76	94,100	41,900	52,200

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1996 and 2001; and Brian Harrison and Louise Marmen, *Languages In Canada*, catalogue no. 96-313E (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 1994).

As Quebec does not attract considerable numbers of migrants from other provinces, it is safe to assume that the share of Anglophones born elsewhere in Canada is not a source of growth for the community. In 2001, of the near 490,000 non-immigrant mother-tongue Anglophones, about one-fifth were born elsewhere in the country.



Most of those Anglophones born outside the province reside on the Island of Montréal and in the Outaouais region. Indeed, non-immigrant Anglophones born in the rest of Canada outnumber Quebec-born Anglophones in the Outaouais by two to one.

Some of the migratory loss of Quebec Anglophones was due to the secondary or interprovincial migration of the province's English-speaking immigrants. Between 1980 and 1995, there was a loss of nearly 25 percent of immigrants who spoke English only upon arrival in the province. Of those immigrants speaking both official languages, the net loss was just under 7 percent (IMDB, 2000).

Factors motivating non-immigrant Anglophones to leave the province are generally similar to those influencing the immigrant population. A CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey conducted in 2000 reveals that English-speaking immigrants expressing an intention to leave cited a lack of educational and economic opportunities (31 percent), while non-immigrant English speakers more frequently cited political considerations (26 percent). A greater share of Anglophone immigrants suggests that discrimination was a factor in the decision to leave the province (15 percent), a sentiment shared by few non-immigrants (5 percent).

A survey conducted late in 2002 shows that 12 percent of Quebec Anglophones felt they would not be living in the province in the next five years (GPC-Canadian Heritage, 2002). Most Anglophones expressing such an intention were urban residents (14 percent in Montréal and 4 percent outside Montréal). When asked to give reasons why they might leave, there was no dominant consideration, although one-third said it was to look for work and one-fifth cited linguistic concerns.

There are signs, however, that the situation may be changing. Figures released early in 2004 on quarterly numbers of interprovincial migrants reveal that, during 2003, about the same number of people entered Quebec from other provinces as left. Should the trend continue in the next few years, it is possible there will be some stabilization by 2006 in overall numbers of mother-tongue Quebec Anglophones.

## B. International Immigration

Considering the important net losses of Anglophones from interprovincial migration, English speakers arriving from overseas have played a crucial role in curbing declines in community numbers. Between the Second World War and the early 1970s, the growth of the Anglophone community in Quebec was primarily from an influx of immigrants arriving from Europe, and their children, who for the most part were integrated in English-language institutions. Quebec's Anglophone population represents a microcosm of Canada's mosaic. In 2001, nearly one of out of five Canadians was foreign-born.

**Table 6 - Language Status of Quebec Immigrants and Non-immigrants, Defined According to Mother Tongue or First Official Language Spoken, 2001**

	FOLS - English		FOLS - English and French		Mother tongue English		Mother tongue English and French	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Non-immigrant 2001	588,785	72.3	57,860	32.7	482,400	87.4	41,350	93.7
Immigrant 2001	224,870	27.7	118,490	67.3	69,685	12.6	2,795	6.3

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1996 and 2001.

Because most English-language immigrants settle on the Island of Montréal, the share they represent within that group rises considerably, compared with the rest of the province. On the basis of mother tongue, nearly one out of five Montréal Anglophones is foreign-born. When using the criterion of first official language spoken, the foreign-born portion of Montréal's English-speaking community rises by about 40 percent.

In the 1960s, the Quebec government recognized the importance of immigration to the demographic vitality of the province's Francophone population, introducing measures to ensure that immigrants possess knowledge of French. Almost all immigrant children arriving after the *Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101) was enacted in 1977 would be directed to French-language schools.

Federal-provincial agreements on immigration in 1978 and 1990 supported Quebec's efforts at recruiting immigrants from French-speaking countries. In the early 1990s, responsibility for immigrant integration was transferred from federal to Quebec authorities.

Since the 1970s, the percentage of mother-tongue-English immigrants as a proportion of Quebec's total immigration has declined in both numbers and percentage. Once accounting for as much as one-fifth of all Quebec immigrants, today they are closer to one out of 40 new arrivals in the province. Between 1998 and 2002, the percentage of mother-tongue-English immigrants dropped, while there was nearly a 20-percent increase in their real numbers (from 744 to 904 persons). This was consistent with the overall rise in Quebec's annual intake over that period. Indeed, there was a similar increase in the number of mother-tongue-French immigrants (3,706 to 4,654). Most Quebec immigrants are neither mother-tongue-English nor mother-tongue-French and, from 1998 through 2002, Allophones represented about 85 percent of new arrivals.

Still, many of the Allophone immigrants speak English as a second language and would qualify as members of the English-speaking community when using the first-official-language-spoken criterion. In the 2001 census, as many as 138,000 immigrants possessed knowledge of English as a second language (the difference between first official language spoken at 225,000 persons and mother tongue at 87,000 persons). In addition to the near 225,000 immigrants with English as first official language spoken, another 119,000 declared speaking both English and French upon arrival. Using the method for distributing such individuals, another 60,000 would be identified as English-language immigrants and thus bolster the overall number of Quebec Anglophones. Of those immigrants arriving in Quebec between 1991 and 2001, over 65,000 had English as first official language spoken and approximately 17,000 identified English as their mother tongue. Therefore, some 48,000 immigrants arriving in Quebec during the 1990s spoke English as a second language.



In the early 1990s, more than one out of five immigrants spoke English only upon arrival. By 1998, the percentage of such immigrants declined to 17.5 percent and, by 2002, 15.8 percent of immigrants arriving that year spoke English only. Between 1998 and 2002 those speaking French only upon arrival decreased from 26.9 to 24.4 percent. Immigrants who reported speaking both English and French upon arrival saw their share increase between 1998 and 2002 from 13.3 to 24.7 percent, thus surpassing the number who spoke French only.

**Table 7 - Knowledge of French and/or English among Immigrants Admitted to Quebec, 1998-2002**

Year	French only		French and English		Knowledge of French		English only		Neither French nor English	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1998	7,140	26.9	3,538	13.3	10,678	40.3	4,641	17.5	11,190	42.2
1999	8,087	27.7	4,428	15.2	12,515	42.8	5,557	19.0	11,142	38.1
2000	8,735	26.9	5,965	18.4	14,700	45.2	5,994	18.4	11,808	36.3
2001	9,538	25.4	8,098	21.6	17,636	47.0	5,982	15.9	13,919	37.1
2002	9,181	24.4	9,291	24.7	18,472	49.1	5,953	15.8	13,194	35.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>42,681</b>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>31,320</b>	<b>19.2</b>	<b>74,001</b>	<b>45.3</b>	<b>28,127</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>61,253</b>	<b>37.5</b>

Source: Government of Quebec, Minister of Relations with Citizens and Immigration, 2003.

To arrive at the Quebec government's expressed goal for half of all arriving immigrants to speak French, the provincial administration combines the numbers of new arrivals who declare French only upon arrival with those speaking both English and French. In doing so, for 2002, 49.1 percent of all immigrants reported knowledge of French. Combining those immigrants speaking English only upon arrival with those speaking both English and French would yield slightly over 40 percent for English speakers.

As mentioned, the majority of Anglophone immigrants settle in the Montréal region, particularly on the Island of Montréal. For the most part, immigrants taking up residence outside Montréal remain within the broader Montréal region in such places as Laval and the Montérégie. The geographic proximity of these areas to the Island of Montréal generally results in the availability of services in English similar to that on the Island. When looking at the period from 1996 to 2001, some four-fifths of mother-tongue-English immigrants initially settled on the Island of Montréal, representing a growth in such concentration.

Mother-tongue-English immigrants represent less than 10 percent of the Anglophone population outside Montréal. In the Gaspé, immigrant Anglophones represent less than 1 percent of the community. Still, they account for 13.7 percent of the Québec City Anglophone population and 9 percent of those in the Sherbrooke region.

### 3. *A*NGLODIVERSITY

#### *Summary:*

*Immigration has profoundly influenced the ethnocultural and ethnoracial profile of the Anglophone population. Across the province, migration and mixing between Anglophones and non-Anglophones has produced communities that are diverse in ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds. Quebec Anglophones no longer fit the historic generalization of coming from predominantly British origins. There is also a significant change in the once-common association that Protestants in Quebec are Anglophone while Catholics speak French. Today there are more Catholic than Protestant Anglophones. Diversity among Montréal Anglophones differs from that elsewhere in the province.*

#### A. Origins

The origins of English-speaking immigration change considerably when the criterion is first official language spoken rather than mother tongue. On the basis of mother tongue, some 40 percent of Anglophone immigrants hail from the United Kingdom and the United States. Their combined share of Anglophone immigration drops just below 15 percent when the criterion is first official language spoken. Immigrants from parts of Europe outside the United Kingdom account for just over one-tenth of the mother-tongue-English population, but the figure is over one-third for those identified in the category of English as first official language spoken. Immigrants from Asia account for nearly 17 percent of the mother-tongue-English population, but represent more than one-third of Anglophone immigrants as defined by first official language spoken (see Appendix 1).

The relatively heavy immigrant presence within the English-speaking population runs counter to the impression that Quebec Anglophones are very rooted in the province. Nonetheless, many do in fact trace their origins in Quebec for as much as three centuries, and there are well-known institutions bearing the names of Quebec Anglophone families with long histories in the province. Across the province, migration and mixing between Anglophones and non-Anglophones has produced communities diverse in their ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds.

## B. Pluralism

The contemporary Quebec Anglophone community little resembles the one of four decades ago. It was once fairly common to associate being Protestant in Quebec with being Anglophone, and speaking French meant that one was Catholic. Historically, religion was the most important marker of identity for English speakers, since the province's English public school boards were either Protestant or Catholic. In 2001, three-quarters of the Anglophone population reported that they were Christian. Some 244,000 Anglophones indicated they were Catholic, while approximately 175,000 said they were Protestant. Neither group constituted a majority of Quebec's Anglophone community. Over 50,000 Anglophones reported that they were Jewish, and more than 60,000 declared no religious affiliation. In Montréal, just over one-third of Anglophones were either non-Christian or gave no religious affiliation, compared with less than 15 percent in the rest of the province. In Montréal, Catholics represented one-third of the Anglophone community, Protestants one-quarter and Jews approximately one-sixth of the English-language population.



With the declining importance of religion in Quebec society, the ethnic backgrounds of language groups have taken on increasing significance. On the basis of single declarations of ethnic origin, some 37 percent of those whose first official language spoken is English are of Canadian, British, French and Aboriginal descent. Another 37 percent report other European backgrounds, and about one-quarter report non-European origins. The ethnic composition of the Anglophone population differs when contrasting the Montréal region with the rest of Quebec. Table 8 shows, on the basis of single declarations in Montréal, those declaring Canadian British, French and Aboriginal origins represent just over one-quarter of the population. Outside the Montréal region, 84 percent of the Anglophone population is of Canadian, British, French and Aboriginal descent.

**Table 8 – Declaration of Ethnic Origin among First-Official-Language-Spoken Anglophones, Quebec, Montréal Region and the Rest of Quebec, 2001**

	Quebec	Montréal region	Rest of Quebec
Aboriginal	17,490	1,365	16,125
Canadian	102,635	63,000	39,635
British	73,900	50,640	23,260
French	5,805	3,265	2,540
<i>Total of above</i>	<i>199,830</i>	<i>118,270</i>	<i>81,560</i>
European	161,345	156,020	5,325
Non-European	137,740	127,335	10,405
Jewish	38,925	38,575	350
<b>Total</b>	<b>537,840</b>	<b>440,200</b>	<b>97,640</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

Among those declaring that their first official language spoken is both English and French (50 percent of whom are distributed to Quebec's Anglophone population), only a small segment are of Canadian, British, French and Aboriginal origins, and more reside outside the Montréal region than within. Thus the ethnocultural dimension of Quebec's Anglophone population is further enhanced when defined in this manner, and the share further diminishes what some might describe as the "founding element" of the Anglophone community. Of the 157,000 persons of single ethnic origin reporting their first official language as both English and French, some 90 percent reside on the Island of Montréal, the vast majority being of European and non-European origins. This is a further illustration of the impact of ethnic diversity on the Island of Montréal.

Within the Anglophone population, there has been a constant rise in the share of those identified as visible minorities. Between 1996 and 2001, the visible minority share of the Anglophone population rose from about 11.5 percent to 13 percent. In Montréal, nearly one out of five Anglophones belong to visible minorities. Of the approximately 72,500 visible minority Anglophones in Quebec, most are identified as black (35,285), with South Asians constituting the next largest group (12,580). When using first official language spoken as the defining criterion, nearly one-fifth of the Anglophone population is identified as visible minority and just over one-quarter live on the Island of Montréal.

## C. Mixing

In addition to divergent immigrant settlement patterns, the difference in the composition of the English-speaking population residing within and outside Montréal is primarily attributable to marriages between Anglophones and non-Anglophones. Of the nearly four out of ten Anglophones married to non-Anglophones, just over one-quarter have spouses who are Francophone, while the others have Allophone partners. In this regard, there is considerable variation between Montréal and the rest of Quebec. In the former case of those married outside their linguistic community, some two-thirds are married to Francophone partners. Outside Montréal, 94 percent are in mixed-language relationships with Francophones.

In Montréal, 34 percent of Anglophones are married outside their language group. Among the linguistically mixed group, nearly two-thirds have Francophone spouses while the other third are Allophones.

Outside Montréal, some 47 percent of Anglophones married outside their language group. Unlike the pattern in Montréal, however, the rest of Quebec shows that nearly 93 percent of Anglophones have Francophone spouses. The CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey reveals that in such regions as the Mauricie, Abitibi, Chaudière and Saguenay, a majority of mother-tongue-English persons have spouses whose mother tongue is French. On the other hand, Anglophones in the Gaspé have one of the highest rates of marriage within their language group compared with other Anglophone communities elsewhere in the province.

In the event of an exogamous marriage, the acquisition of English and/or French by children often depends on where one resides and is very much influenced by the mother's principal language. Table 9 shows that when the mother tongue of the father is French and that of the mother is English, slightly more children will initially adopt the French language. However, in Montréal, it is English that is first learned among such mixed language couples. Outside Montréal, a slight majority of the children of such marriages initially acquire the French language.

**Table 9 - Mother Tongue of Children Having Mother-Tongue-French Husband and Mother-Tongue-English Wife, Quebec, Montréal Region and the Rest of Quebec, 2001**

Francophone Husband				
Anglophone Wife	Total <sup>2</sup>	English	French	English and French
Quebec	26,745	11,705	12,120	2,870
Montréal	14,200	6,865	5,625	1,680
Rest of Quebec	12,545	4,840	6,495	1,190

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

When the husband's mother tongue is English and that of the wife is French, the French language is first learned in two out of three cases, and English in one-quarter. In Montréal, French is the first language the child learns in 60 percent of cases, whereas in the rest of Quebec, it is the language initially transmitted 70 percent of the time.

<sup>2</sup> The total numbers include non-official languages.

## 4. SOCIO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

### *Summary:*

*Quebec Anglophones have above-average rates of university graduation. Anglophones on the Island of Montréal tend to have higher rates of educational attainment than those residing elsewhere in the province. The economic condition of the Anglophone community varies across the province. In 2001, the unemployment rate for mother-tongue Anglophones was above the average in nearly every major region in the province with the exception of Montréal. The occupational profile of the Anglophone population diverges somewhat from that of the overall population, the most significant difference being in the level of education achieved. The median individual income of Quebec Anglophones is slightly ahead of mother-tongue Francophones, but in most parts of the province their income is less than the regional average. There is a considerable difference in income between those Quebecers who know both English and French and those who do not.*

### **A. Educational Attainment**

23

English-French bilingualism is positively correlated with higher income, as is higher education. Anglophones on the Island of Montréal tend to have higher rates of educational attainment than those residing elsewhere in the province. The gap is particularly significant when it comes to university graduates, with 41.7 percent of Montréal Anglophones holding university degrees, certificates or diplomas, compared with 28.9 percent of Anglophones in the rest of Quebec bearing such qualifications (the overall average for Quebec is 35.7 percent). In 2001, a higher proportion of Anglophones (17.8 percent) had not graduated high school than Francophones at 16.7 percent. However, when it comes to higher education, the situation is altogether different, with a greater percentage of Anglophones holding university degrees (27.9 percent) than their Francophone counterparts (16.9 percent), the latter having a greater share of persons with trade certificates and diplomas (11.3 versus 7.8 percent).

## B. Employment and Income

In a mid-1980s publication titled *The Forgotten Quebecers*, historian Ronald Rudin notes that when they were not completely ignored in Canadian historic writing, English-speaking Quebecers have been presented in the guise of wealthy business people. For much of the 20th century, perhaps the most pervasive stereotype about Quebec Anglophones was that they were a group with privileged economic status. In 2001, the unemployment rate for mother-tongue Anglophones was above the average in nearly every major region with the exception of Montréal. On the Island, the overall rate stood at 9.2 percent in 2001, and at 8.5 percent for mother-tongue Anglophones – a figure higher than that of the Francophone population at 7.7 percent. In the Gaspé region, it was 20.9 percent for Anglophones, compared with the regional average at 16.8 percent. In Sherbrooke, it was 8.3 percent (the regional average was 7.1 percent). In Laval, it was 7.6 percent (the regional average was 5.7 percent). Regional economies have a profound impact on both employment and income. Therefore the cross-regional comparison in rates of unemployment is less important than the condition of the community within its region.

The occupational profile of the Quebec mother-tongue-English population differs somewhat from that of the entire population. The percentage of Anglophones who are managers (13.4 percent) is somewhat higher than the provincial average (10.4 percent), and the same applies to the business and financial professions (21.2 percent) relative to the broader population (18.2 percent).

Quebec Anglophones are much less represented in those professions identified as blue-collar – in transport, primary industry and processing and manufacturing – with just over one-sixth performing such functions, whereas one-quarter of all Quebecers are employed in this sector. Nonetheless, there is a significant difference in the occupational profile of Montréal Island Anglophones compared with those residing elsewhere in the province. In the rest of Quebec, Anglophones have an occupational profile that is similar to that of Quebecers on the whole. Nearly one-quarter of Anglophones outside the Island of Montréal are employed in the blue-collar sector compared with one-eighth in the metropolitan areas. The Montréal breakdown shows 5.6 percent of all Anglophone workers are in the health sector. In the rest of Quebec the figure drops to 3.8 percent. Some 6 percent of all employed Montréal Anglophone are in the arts and culture, compared with 3 percent in the rest of Quebec. Differences in occupational profiles between Anglophones on the Island and those in the rest of the province are best explained by varying regional economies and divergences in educational attainment.



The median individual income of Anglophones is slightly ahead of mother-tongue Francophones in Quebec (\$21,619 to \$21,166) and in Montréal (\$21,966 to \$21,599). In the Gaspé, Sherbrooke, the South Shore and Laval, the median income of mother-tongue Francophones is more than 10 percent greater than that of their Anglophone counterparts. But when assessing the situation on a regional basis, those in the mother-tongue-English category are ahead of their Francophone counterparts in the Outaouais and Québec City.

There is a substantial employment and income gap between those Quebecers who know both English and French and those who do not. In 2001, the rate of unemployment among mother-tongue Anglophones aged 25 to 34 with knowledge of both English and French was 7.5 percent (it was 7 percent in Montréal), with an unemployment rate of 14.3 percent for those Quebec Anglophones who knew English only. By contrast, bilingual Francophones had a rate of unemployment of 5.5 percent (in Montréal it drops to 5 percent) compared with 8.8 percent who knew French only.

On the basis of median individual income, those with knowledge of English and French earned about \$25,500, thus faring considerably better than either persons who spoke French only (approximately \$17,850) or those who were unilingually English (\$16,575).

## 5. LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE AND USE

### *Summary:*

*Young Anglophones have made considerable strides in the extent to which they know French, although one-quarter of Quebec Anglophones are unable to speak the language. Nearly one-third of Anglophones do not feel that they were provided with a good opportunity to learn a second language in the school system. An important majority of Anglophones believe that they can live in the English language. The majority of Anglophones use their language in various public contexts, although this tends to vary along generational lines, particularly in the area of commercial exchanges and communication with government. More than one out of five Anglophones uses French most of the time at work, and the extent of its use varies along regional lines, as nearly one out three Anglophones outside Montréal use mainly French at work.*

### A. Bilingualism

As confirmed by numerous surveys, Anglophone Quebecers are significant supporters of bilingualism. Some eight out of ten young Anglophone Quebecers believe that knowledge of two official languages is an economic asset to Canada, and 95 percent agree that English-French bilingualism improves job opportunities. Young Anglophones have made considerable strides in the extent to which they know the French language. In 2001, about two-thirds of Anglophones reported having knowledge of French, representing a jump of 6 percent over the level five years earlier. Moreover, the acquisition of French comes at an early age, since 60 percent of Anglophones between the age of five and nine report know both languages, compared with approximately 50 percent in 1996.

While knowledge of both English and French continuously rises in the Anglophone population, there remain segments within the community that do not know French. Among those Anglophones between the ages of 30 and 59, the 2001 census reveals that about one out of four do not know the French language. In some instances, such unilingual Anglophones may have received instruction in the French language but failed to retain the language beyond the age of 30. In a survey conducted by GPC-Canadian Heritage (2002), 30 percent of Quebec Anglophones disagreed that their elementary/secondary education provided them with a good opportunity to learn a second language

The vast majority of non-immigrants surveyed by the CROP-Missisquoi Institute (2000) declared that they did receive some instruction in the French language, but 44 percent felt that the quality of such instruction did not prepare them to succeed in Quebec. Among mother-tongue-English immigrants, 30 percent indicated that they did not receive French instruction, and 32 percent declared that such instruction was inadequate preparation for success in the province. There was an important variation in the views held by people over the age of 65, and those who were between 18 and 24. In the latter case, some two-thirds were satisfied with the extent and quality of French instruction, whereas less than 30 percent of seniors felt that way.

## B. Language of Public Use

While a majority of Quebec Anglophones know the French language, less is known about how often and under what circumstances the language is used. When asked, the vast majority (82 percent) of Quebec Anglophones believe that they can live in English “within one hour of their home” (GPC-Canadian Heritage, 2002). A study conducted by the Conseil de la langue Française (1999) on the language of public use reveals that more than 90 percent of Quebec Anglophones consume media and cultural products in the English language. The study also shows that in the Montréal region most Anglophones conduct their business in the English language. However, as Table 10 shows, there are generational differences in the extent to which the French language is used by Anglophones in the area of commercial activity.

**Table 10 – Use of English among Anglophones Engaged in Various Activities, by Age Group, Montréal Metropolitan Region, 1999**

	Ages 18-29 (%)	Ages 30-64 (%)	Age 65 and over (%)
Shopping centre	55.8	54.4	78.1
Small business	55.4	54.9	77.6
Bank	64.4	70.3	85.2
Newspaper	90.7	93.9	98.1
Television	95.8	97.2	97.3
Cinema	98.9	98.6	99.0
Government verbal	54.8	57.5	84.4
Government forms	74.1	77.3	91.1

Source: Paul Béland, *Le français, langue d'usage public au Québec en 1997 : rapport de recherche* (Québec, QC: Government of Quebec, Conseil de la langue française, 1999).

## C. Anglophones at Work

Language use in the workplace is considered an important dimension of a community's capacity to function in its primary language. It is regarded as a significant indicator of the prospects for language retention and is perhaps the most important element in assessing the language of public use. Using an official language in the workplace is considered critical towards integration into the marketplace and is a key element in enhancing mobility. For this reason, many Quebec analysts of the language situation are preoccupied by the extent to which non-Francophones use the French language in the workplace. Much attention was once paid to the extent to which Montréal Francophones used English in the workplace, but since the 1980s greater attention is directed towards the language used by all non-Francophones.

Over one-fifth of Quebec Anglophones use the French language a majority of the time in their place of employment. There is a significant difference in the extent to which Quebecers work in French on the Island of Montréal compared with elsewhere in the province. In Montréal, three-quarters of Anglophones use mostly English at work, and another 10 percent report using both languages equally.

Outside Montréal, 30 percent of Anglophones use French most of the time at work. The use of French by Anglophones in the workplace varies across regions. In the Québec City region, nearly two-thirds of mother-tongue Anglophones use mostly French in the workplace. In Sherbrooke, 37 percent of the Anglophone population use French most often at work, as is the case for 30 percent of the Anglophone population residing on Montréal's South Shore.

### *Summary:*

*The education provisions of the Charter of the French Language have had a significant impact on the province's English-language schools. Under the relevant provisions of the language legislation access to English-language primary and secondary education was limited to children with a parent who had received the major part of his or her instruction in the English language in Canada. Enrolment reductions in the English-language schools have been offset by increases in the number and share of mother-tongue Francophones. Over the 1990s, mother-tongue-French enrolment in Montréal elementary and secondary schools rose by about 35 percent and jumped by nearly 115 percent in the rest of the province. Between 1991 and 2003, the share of mother-tongue Francophones in English-language schools rose from 15.2 percent to 27.9 percent. On a lesser scale, there have been similar changes in the composition of colleges and universities. The changes are in large part attributable to the increased number of mother-tongue Francophones eligible for English-language instruction outside Montréal. Indeed, in the rest of the province, mother-tongue Francophones constitute the majority enrolled in English-language CEGEPs. The English educational mission is increasingly focussed on offering services in the English language to a diverse clientele, rather than stressing minority language communities.*

### **A. Rights Holders**

Under the Canada Clause provisions of the *Charter of the French Language*, students from outside Quebec who received the majority of their instruction in the English language or whose parents received such instruction, are eligible to attend Quebec's English-language schools. In 2002-03, students born in the rest of Canada represented 8.7 percent of total enrolment in the English sector, a decrease from the 9.9 percent of the 1998-99 period. Foreign-born students saw their percentage climb over the same period from 4.7 to 5.1 percent. Students born in the province represented 86.2 percent of the province's English-language sector.

Despite the provisions of the *Charter of the French Language* restricting access to English-language schools, through the 1990s, there was some growth in the numbers of students eligible to obtain English-language education in Quebec. The growing number of those who held such rights, and in particular mother-tongue Francophones<sup>3</sup>, has been the principal cause of changes in the composition of English-language schools and notably those outside the Montréal region. For the most part, these mother-tongue-French children acquired eligibility as products of marriages between Anglophones and Francophones, where the former were “rights holders.” With such marriages on the rise in the 1990s, a multiplier effect has resulted in increases in such enrolment in English-language schools. In effect, from the mid-1990s through 2003, the mother-tongue-French population of the English public school sector has risen by about 1,000 students, or nearly 15 percent per year.

Between 1983 and 1991, about 14,000 mother-tongue-French students had the right to attend English-language public schools. Approximately 10,000 (71.6 percent) exercised that right, and the share stayed roughly the same until 1998-99. At that time, of the over 22,600 Francophone rights holders, below 16,000 attended English-language schools. Since then, there has been a slight increase in the number of mother-tongue-French students who exercised the right in 2000-01. At this time, they represented 73.8 percent, or nearly 17,200 eligible Francophones attending English-language institutions.

Some 78 percent of Francophones holding the rights to attend English-language schools reside outside the Montréal region, an increase of 60 percent over the level two decades earlier. Of the nearly 5,200 mother-tongue-French rights holders in Montréal in 2000-01, some 3,700 (71.7 percent) attended English-language schools, compared with the 74.5 percent of those outside Montréal (13,500 out of 18,150) exercising such rights. It is worth adding that in 1991-92, some 10,340 mother-tongue-French students outside Montréal were eligible to attend English-language schools and just over 7,300 exercised such rights.

<sup>3</sup> Mother-tongue-French students attending English-language schools are rights holders.

Among Anglophone Quebecers in 1983-84, some 7.8 percent (7,325 students) with English-language school rights chose to attend French-language schools. A major decrease in the share of rights-holder Anglophones in French-language schools occurred between the years 1986-87 and 1991-92, when the percentage dropped from 8.5 percent or 7,510 students to 6.6 percent or 5,466 students. Over the next eight years, the number and share of Anglophone rights holders attending French-language schools remained relatively unchanged.

Perhaps the sharpest decline in the number and share of Anglophones attending French-language schools occurred between the years 1999-2000 and 2000-01 with a drop of approximately 7.5 percent, or nearly 400 students. At the same time, there was a decrease in the enrolment of Anglophones in the English-language sector, possibly arising from net losses through the interprovincial migration. As noted, between 1998 and 2002, there was a 5 percent drop in the number of English-language students born in the rest of Canada.

In 1983-84, of the more than 18,000 mother-tongue-English students attending French-language schools, about 40 percent did so by choice and the rest by obligation. Some two decades later, one-quarter attended the French-language schools by choice and the rest were required to do so.

## B. Elementary and High Schools

Since its release in early February 1992, the provincial government's *Task Force on English-Language Education in Quebec* chaired by Gretta Chambers (known as the Chambers Report) has become an important reference for much of the discussion about the state of English-language education.

In the 15 years after the adoption of the *Charter of the French Language*, the English language school system saw its enrolment fall considerably. Citing a 57-percent decline between 1972 and 1990, from 250,000 to 108,000, the *Task Force on English Education in Quebec* presented a rather gloomy forecast of the English-language school system (French enrolment declined by 24 percent over the same period). It noted that the greatest decline occurred between 1976 and 1986, and that the drop was particularly felt on the Island of Montréal (some 64 percent between 1970 and 1990).

As the members of the Task Force noted, “a community’s education of its young is one of the building blocks on which its future is founded. If it leaves the education of its young people to others, others will eventually define its cultural values and choose its social priorities” (*Task Force on English Language Education*, February 1992). One of the aspects of the mission of English education in Quebec was to give students knowledge of their English-language cultural heritages and the contribution their community has made to the development of Quebec society. At the time an important link was made between enrolment trends and the control and management of the English-language school system.

According to the Task Force, “Bill 101, restricting admissibility to English schooling, has accelerated the decline by shutting out a significant portion of the English school network’s traditional replacement clientele.” In further commenting on the status of the English-speaking community, the Task Force warned, “if it is prevented from renewing itself, it will simply fade away. Continuing to shut it off from its traditional sources of replenishment can and will be construed as a delayed but deliberate death sentence.”

The English-language school system has undergone considerable evolution since the Task Force report was published. At the time of its release in 1992, the Quebec Ministry of Education predicted that declines in English enrolment would end and that there would be an increase in numbers over the course of the 1990s. Their forecast was accurate, but the source of the increases may have major ramifications, not only for the future of the English school system but also for the Quebec Anglophone community. In effect, the demographic changes to the clientele of English-language schools inevitably undercut the degree to which Quebec’s English culture and heritage remain an institutional mission.



Table 11 shows that in the 1991-2002 period, while mother-tongue-English enrolment in Quebec English-language schools dropped by approximately 2.5 percent, mother-tongue-French enrolment grew by about 100 percent. In the case of mother-tongue Allophones between 1991 and 1998, numbers remained relatively stable. However, since then, the English-language schools have seen nearly a 15-percent increase in enrolment from this source.

**Table 11 – Students in English-Language Schools (Public and Private) in the Province of Quebec, by Mother Tongue, School Years 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2002-03**

	1991-92	1998-99	2002-03
Anglophone	79,004	77,735	76,818
Francophone	10,362	15,826	20,354
Allophone	22,026	22,142	25,662
<b>Total</b>	<b>111,392</b>	<b>115,703</b>	<b>122,834</b>

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2002-03.



Between 1991 and 2003, enrolment of mother-tongue Francophones in English-language schools in Montréal has increased by about 35 percent, and initially this offset the loss in the number of mother-tongue Anglophones over the 1990s, averting an overall reduction in overall enrolment. Since 1998, rising numbers of Allophone enrolment in Montréal English-language schools has contributed to an increase in the sector from approximately 61,500 in 1998-99 to nearly 64,500 in 2002-03.

Outside Montréal, between 1991 and 2003, the growth in the numbers of mother-tongue-French students in English-language schools has jumped by nearly 115 percent. Table 12 shows the consequence of this trend, as the share of mother-tongue-French students in the English sector rose from 15.2 percent to 27.9 percent in a dozen years.

**Table 12 – Students in English-Language Schools (Public and Private) outside Montréal, by Mother Tongue, School Years 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2002-03**

	1991-92		1998-99		2002-03	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglophone	35,843	72.5	35,604	65.7	34,742	59.4
Francophone	7,548	15.2	12,300	22.7	16,187	27.7
Allophone	6,046	12.3	6,302	11.6	7,594	12.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>49,437</b>		<b>54,206</b>		<b>58,523</b>	

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2002-03.

At the same time, there has been a modest rise in the number of mother-tongue Anglophones enrolled in the province’s French-language schools. In 1991, there were about 15,700 mother-tongue-English students enrolled in the province’s French-language schools, and in 2003 they numbered nearly 18,000, representing a 15-percent increase over that period. The share of mother-tongue Anglophones in the French sector has also risen from 1.5 to 1.8 percent.

While there has always been a difference between Montréal and the regions in the rest of Quebec in the composition of English schools, the divergence has grown over the past decade. The increasing presence of Francophones in English-language schools outside Montréal no doubt has an important bearing on the “community” mission of English-language schools. It is an issue that merits further inquiry.

Mother-tongue-French students represent only 6 percent of total enrolment in Montréal’s English-language schools and about one-quarter of the English sector in the rest of Quebec. As in the regions where English schools have benefited most from the influx of mother-tongue-French students, the total enrolment in the English-language sector outside Montréal is greater than enrolment on the Island of Montréal. There are now more mother-tongue Francophones in English-language schools than there are Anglophones in French-language schools.

In fact, virtually the entire increase in enrolment in English-language public schools occurred outside the Montréal region.

**Table 13 – Students in English-Language Public Schools in Montréal and the Rest of Quebec, by Mother Tongue, 1991-92 and 2000-01**

	Montréal				Rest of Quebec			
	1991-92		2000-01		1991-92		2000-01	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Francophone	2,159	4.3	3,139	6.2	7,305	15.0	13,736	25.0
Anglophone	34,788	68.7	33,416	65.9	35,249	73.1	34,704	63.3
Allophone	13,664	27.0	14,188	27.9	5,737	11.9	6,407	11.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>50,611</b>		<b>50,743</b>		<b>48,249</b>		<b>54,847</b>	

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, 1991-92 and 2000-01.

Much of the increase in mother-tongue-French enrolment in English-language schools is concentrated in a few areas within the province. Between 1991 and 2001, the largest real increase occurred in the Montérégie, which accounted for more than 25 percent of the overall rise in the number of Francophones in English-language schools. Montréal accounted for over 20 percent of this increase, followed by the Laurentians with over 10 percent, and the Eastern Townships and Québec City with 7.5 percent each.

In some regions, the very viability of English-language schools appears dependent on the presence of mother-tongue-French students. For example, the ratio of Francophone to Anglophone students in the region of Québec Centre is about seven to one (with 280 mother-tongue-French students, compared with 40 mother-tongue-English students). It is between three and four to one in such areas as Chaudière, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean and the Mauricie.

### C. Allophones and English Education

Since the introduction of the *Charter of the French Language*, the fastest-growing segment of the Quebec school system has been students with mother tongue that is neither English nor French. From the early 1980s to the late 1990s, their numbers decreased rather sharply in the English sector, with a corresponding increase over that same period of Allophones in French-language schools, notably in the Montréal area. While Anglophones and Francophones experienced declines in their overall enrolment through much of the 1980s, the numbers of Allophones in Quebec public schools grew substantially. In 1983-84, there were slightly more Allophones enrolled in English public schools than in the French-language sector. By 1991, nearly three-quarters of all Allophones enrolled in Quebec public schools were in the French sector. Indeed, by the late 1990s, the number of mother-tongue-Allophone students surpassed the number of the Anglophones enrolled in Quebec schools. Both in numbers and share, Allophones have had a major impact in the French sector. In addition to a greater-than-100-percent increase in real numbers, the Allophone share in the French-language sector has jumped from 4.2 percent in 1991 to 9 percent in 2002.

These changes to the school system are especially pronounced in Montréal, where the vast majority of the Allophone population is concentrated. In Montréal, the mother-tongue-Allophone student population jumped by about 24 percent over a ten-year period (1991-2001), while the percentage of Francophones dropped by nearly 5 percent.

**Table 14 – Students in Schools (Public and Private) in the Province of Quebec, by Mother Tongue, School Years 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2002-03**

	1991-92		1998-99		2002-03	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Francophone	961,611	84.3	942,719	82.5	903,340	81.0
Anglophone	95,432	8.4	95,085	8.3	94,434	8.4
Allophone	91,003	7.3	105,239	9.2	118,446	10.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,148,046</b>		<b>1,143,043</b>		<b>1,115,827</b>	

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2002-03.

Since 1998 the English sector benefited from an increase in Allophone enrolments. Connected to this increase is a recent rise in the number of mother-tongue Allophones who hold the right to attend English-language schools, likely attributable to a rise in the number of eligible children in Anglophone-Allophone and/or Allophone-Allophone marriages where at least one partner holds the right. A higher birth rate among some of the groups is likely another factor underlying the recent growth in numbers. Between 1998 and 2002, there was an increase of approximately 13,000 Allophone students in Quebec schools. Over 3,500 (27 percent of the increase) went to English-language schools, while nearly three-quarters went to French-language schools.

Traditionally, very few of those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French and who held the right to go to English-language schools chose to attend French-language institutions. The 1983-87 period saw an increase in the numbers of rights-holder Allophones attending French-language schools (rising from 960 students to 1,371). From then until 1999, the number and share of such persons attending French-language schools has remained rather stable. In the past two years, however, the English-language school system seems to have drawn back a certain number of Allophones eligible for English-language instruction, but who chose to attend French-language schools.. In 1983-84, some 32,000 Allophones were eligible for English-language education and about 31,000 (97 percent) exercised their right. Two decades later, over 201,500 Allophones were eligible for English-language schooling and approximately 94 percent exercised their right.

The largest Allophone groups in the English-language school system were generally the longer-established groups of European origin such as Italians, Greeks and Portuguese. Since the 1980s, Quebec has seen a substantial diversification of immigrant source countries and a sizable influx of children of Latin American, Arab and Asian descent. Between 1991 and 2002, the English sector benefited from small increases in enrolment from the children of non-European immigrants, and the single largest source were children having various South Asian mother tongues.

Led by European-origin groups, mother-tongue-Italian students represent by far the dominant Allophone presence in English-language schools. Whereas in 1991 they constituted some 44 percent of all Allophones in the English public sector, in 2002-2003, they represented about 36.1 percent. Over that period, the biggest increase in the share of the Allophone group came from various South Asian linguistic groups, where their cumulative percentage rose from just above one out of ten students in 1991 to about one-fifth of all Allophones in 2002-03. Because of the significant extent to which mother-tongue-Italian students speak English in their homes, when the language used at home is the criterion for determining the number

of students, the cumulative total of South Asian languages easily surpasses Italian. After English, French and Italian, Tamil is the fourth most frequently spoken language in the home among the student population in the English sector.

While growth of the student population in the English public sector is largely a function of the rising presence of mother-tongue-French students, for the first time in 15 years there has been an increase in the number of Allophone students in the English-language schools. Very few Allophones who are eligible for English-language schooling voluntarily attend French-language schools. A recent increase in Allophone students in the English sector was overwhelmingly concentrated in Montréal, thus giving rise to an increasingly multiracial school composition. This contrasts with the situation outside Montréal, where English schools are characterized by a high degree of cultural duality.

#### D. Higher Education

As observed, over the past 20 years, enrolment patterns in the province's English-language elementary and high schools underwent profound transformation. Although there have been no restrictions placed on entry into Quebec's English-language colleges (known as CEGEPs in both French and English), they too have experienced considerable change in their composition.

The 1990s were characterized by an important decline in the numbers of Quebec students enrolled in CEGEPs, particularly over the 1996-2000 period. The decline in enrolments was especially pronounced among Anglophones and Francophones, as they respectively fell by 21 percent and 13 percent over that decade. In 1991, there were about 19,000 Anglophones enrolled in Quebec CEGEPs, and by 2000 their numbers dropped to approximately 15,000.

**Table 15 - Full-time and Part-time Enrolment in Public English and French CEGEPS In Quebec, by Mother Tongue, 1991, 1996 and 2000**

CEGEPs	1991		1996		2000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglophone	19,011	8.8	16,925	8.2	14,938	8.0
Francophone	182,075	84.7	177,487	85.1	158,485	84.7
Allophone	13,909	6.5	14,054	6.7	13,596	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>214,995</b>		<b>208,466</b>		<b>187,019</b>	

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Higher Education Section, *Direction de l'enseignement collégial privé et des systèmes en collaboration avec le secteur de la planification*, March 2001.

Over the course of the 1990s, English sector enrolments were down by about 15 percent and further decreases were avoided because of the relative stability in the numbers of Francophone students in the province's English-language CEGEPs.

The number of Allophones remained relatively stable, with a decline of only 3 percent over the course of the decade. However, while the French-language institutions benefited from a 15-percent increase in the numbers of Allophones, there was a 15-percent decrease in the number of Allophones in English-language CEGEPs. The rather sizable drop in the number of Anglophones enrolled in English-language CEGEPs over the course of the 1990s meant that by 2000 they no longer constituted the majority of students enrolled in that sector. Whereas in 1991 mother-tongue Anglophones constituted approximately 55 percent of the English-language sector, by 2000, their share had dropped to 49.4 percent. Over the same period, the Francophone share of enrolment in English-language CEGEPs rose from one-fifth to one-quarter of all students.

In 1991, some 43.6 percent of Allophones were enrolled in French-language CEGEPs, and the figure rose to 47.5 percent in 2000. While the real numbers of Allophones in French-language CEGEPs increased by approximately 19 percent during the 1990s, there was a 15 percent decrease in the share of Allophones over that same period in the English sector.

Over the course of the 1990s, on the basis of mother tongue, there was a 20-percent decline in the number of Anglophones enrolled in English-language CEGEPs in Montréal (14,648 in 1991 to 11,574 in 2000). The numbers of Francophones remained relatively stable (3,857 in 1991 to 3,687 in 2000). There was, however, a slight increase in the number of Anglophones enrolled in Montréal's French-language CEGEPs over that same period.

There are some parallels to be drawn in looking at the composition of elementary and high schools outside Montréal compared with the language backgrounds of students in the province's CEGEPs in the rest of Quebec. English-language CEGEPs outside Montréal show a drop in non-Francophone enrolments, whereas the Francophone segment of the student population has risen. Table 16 shows that this trend has reached the point where, by 2000, Francophones were more numerous than mother-tongue Anglophones. Those CEGEPs located in the regions are very much dominated by mother-tongue-French students, without which the very viability of the institutions would no doubt be in serious jeopardy. For instance, in the Champlain college in Québec City (Saint-Lawrence campus), the Francophone presence is 80 percent of the total student enrolment. Both in Sherbrooke and Québec City, approximately three-quarters of the students enrolled full-time and part-time in the English-language CEGEPs are mother-tongue Francophones.

**Table 16 – Full-time and Part-time Enrolment in Public English-Language CEGEPs outside Montréal Centre, by Mother Tongue, 1991, 1996 and 2000**

	1991		1996		2000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglophone	3,606	48.3	3,147	44.7	2,560	39.6
Francophone	2,710	36.3	2,849	40.4	2,944	45.6
Allophone	1,150	15.4	1,053	14.9	949	14.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,466</b>		<b>7,049</b>		<b>6,453</b>	

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Higher Education Section, *Direction de l'enseignement collégial privé et des systèmes en collaboration avec le secteur de la planification*, March 2001.

The number and share of mother-tongue-French students has surged at all levels of English-language education. By the turn of the century, they represented about one out of five students in English-language educational institutions, and such growth will undoubtedly continue. If the current trends are sustained, by 2006, mother-tongue Francophones will constitute more than one out of five students in the English public elementary and secondary system, one-third of the province's English-language CEGEPs and one-fourth of the students in English-language universities.

In English-language universities, the share of mother-tongue Francophones has risen from 17.8 percent in 1991 to 20.3 percent in 2000. Allophones increased from approximately one-fifth to one-quarter, and Anglophones dropped from just over 60 percent to approximately 55 percent.



**Table 17 – Enrolment in English Public Schools, English CEGEPs (Full-time and Part-time) and English Universities (Full-time and Part-time) in Quebec, by Mother Tongue, 2000**

	Public schools		CEGEPs		Universities	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglophone	68,120	64.3	13,537	49.4	30,881	54.9
Francophone	16,875	16.0	6,631	24.2	11,422	20.3
Allophone	20,595	19.7	7,118	26.4	13,840	24.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>105,590</b>		<b>27,286</b>		<b>56,237</b>	

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, 1991-92 and 2000-01; Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Higher Education Section, *Direction de l'enseignement collégial privé et des systèmes en collaboration avec le secteur de la planification*, 1991-92 and 2000; and Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, *Gestion des données sur les effectifs universitaires*, 2000.

# 7. HEALTH CARE INSTITUTIONS

## *Summary:*

*Quebec Anglophones widely agree that the principal concern of their communities is access to health care. There is a relationship between the demographic importance of Anglophone communities and the availability of health and social services in English. In smaller communities, availability of services is less frequent. However, the expectation of such service may not be high, judging by the consistency in the degree to which Anglophones report being refused such service.*

Quebec Anglophones widely agree that the principal concern of communities is access to health care. Indeed, it is a growing concern for the Anglophone population, whose demographic composition is characterized by a significant share of those over the age of 65.

Health care is an essential element of the vitality and well-being of a community. Access to health and social service in one's own language varies according to community demographics, economic standing and the nature and degree of state intervention.

Perhaps the most thorough investigation of this matter is the CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey from 2000, which looked at a broad range of issues facing the Anglophone population in the area of access to health and social services. The survey revealed that Anglophones are more likely than Francophones to first turn to family in case of illness, with some three-quarters turning to family members in such circumstances and one-tenth to public health institutions.

It is not simple to measure the degree to which there is a gap between the desire for health care in the English language and its availability. While the latter is simpler to assess, the extent of the problem in securing such service varies, depending on whether English speakers feel that they require the service. The CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey asked not only whether Anglophones received service in the English language, but also whether they did so without asking, whether receiving such service was important to them and whether they were refused service in the English language. There is a clear correlation between the demographic weight of Anglophone communities and the availability of health and social services in English. In those regions outside Montréal where the English-speaking community forms less than 2.4 percent of the population, the availability of such services was low. Among them are the Lower St. Lawrence, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, Chaudière-Appalaches, Lanaudière, Québec and the Mauricie.

Table 18 provides the percentages of persons who were served in English in selected areas where English-language health care was required. Montréal, the Gaspé and the Outaouais regions offer the best opportunities to secure such services in English. However this does not imply that there are problems in other regions, or that Montréal is without problems in providing service in the English language.

**Table 18 – Responses to Question Concerning Service in English at CLSC, Info Santé, Hospital Emergency or Outpatient Clinics from Mother-Tongue-English Speakers, Selected Regions, 2000**

	CLSC		Info Santé		Hospital emergency or outpatient	
	Received service in English	Without asking for service in English	Received service in English	Without asking for service in English	Received service in English	Without asking for service in English
Quebec (province)	66	75	61	68	73	80
Lower St. Lawrence	6	—	31	—	28	—
Gaspésie	70	97	60	51	58	55
Québec City	21	80	21	—	20	63
Estrie	72	70	56	48	40	60
Montréal West	82	75	74	67	89	85
Montréal East	54	68	56	71	69	82
Outaouais	68	77	60	47	69	63
Laval	44	58	55	54	47	54
Laurentians	43	60	43	87	45	70
Montréal	59	73	48	70	78	70

Source: CROP-Missisquoi Institute, *Survey of the English-Speaking Community of Quebec*, 2000.

To determine where problems in health care access are most pronounced, it is important to assess the frequency with which Anglophones were refused health care service in their primary language when they requested it, and how often these incidents occurred. Of the over 3,000 Anglophones surveyed by CROP-Missisquoi Institute, 1,600 visited a local community health care centre (or CLSC). Of that number, 98 (7.9 percent) report encountering situations where, despite a request, they were refused service in English. The frequency of such reported incidents was somewhat less when Anglophones used emergency rooms in the province (7.5 percent), and when they required health information (6 percent) through Quebec's Info Santé help line.

With certain exceptions, there is some consistency across various regions in the extent to which these incidents are reported. In the case of the CLSCs, such incidents appeared to be more common in the Laurentians, Laval, Eastern Montréal and the Outaouais region. With respect to the Info Santé service, incidents were most frequently reported in the Gaspé, Outaouais, Eastern Montréal and the Montérégie. In the case of hospital emergency services, the Laurentians and the Eastern Townships had the highest percentage of reported cases.

**Table 19 – Requests for Service in English Refused at CLSC, Info Santé, Hospital Emergency or Outpatient Clinics Reported by Mother-Tongue-English Speakers, Selected Regions, 2000**

	CLSC			Info Santé			Hospital emergency or outpatient		
	Number of visits	Request refused	%	Number of visits	Request refused	%	Number of visits	Request refused	%
Quebec (province)	1,246	98	7.9	521	31	6.0	1,459	108	7.5
Lower St. Lawrence	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gaspésie	105	8	7.6	30	72	3.0	71	8	8.8
Québec City	23	2	8.7	—	—	—	54	2	3.7
Eastern Townships	120	6	5.0	49	3	6.1	134	16	11.9
Western Montréal	170	11	6.5	188	6	3.2	224	9	4.0
Eastern Montréal	71	7	9.8	42	5	11.9	84	5	6.0
Outaouais	84	8	9.5	25	4	16.0	118	10	5.5
Laval	70	7	10.0	24	2	8.3	—	—	—
Laurentians	60	9	15.0	19	2	10.5	75	9	12.0
Montérégie	186	8	4.3	68	8	11.7	204	9	4.4

Source: CROP-Missisquoi Institute, *Survey of the English-Speaking Community of Quebec*, 2000.

## 8. SERVICING THE COMMUNITY

### *Summary:*

*Quebec Anglophones are generally satisfied with the services they receive. They believe the media are most dedicated to serving community interests. Nearly half feel that the Anglophone community has strong and effective leadership, but opinion varies about who is best positioned to represent community concerns, with no single organization standing out. There is variation in the degree to which Quebec Anglophones feel that governments adequately represent their interests. Some two-thirds of Anglophones felt that their interests were poorly represented by the provincial administration, compared with one-third expressing such dissatisfaction with federal and municipal authorities.*

### **A. Institutional Confidence and Satisfaction**

From a qualitative standpoint, it would be fair to argue that the English-speaking population, particularly in the Montréal area, has historically enjoyed and continues to benefit from a wide range of institutions. Still, the important demographic changes to the community have modified institutional mandates. As noted, organizations that once had community-specific mandates describe themselves as providing service in the English language to broader constituencies. In the previous section, gaps in access to health and social services in English were identified. This section explores the level of confidence on the part of Quebec Anglophones in the various services provided by the province's government and non-governmental organizations.

Table 20 shows that there is a significant correlation between how Anglophones regard the commitment of various organizations to serving their interests, their degree of overall satisfaction with the services provided, and how well they rate access to those services. Media outlets are viewed as most committed to serving the interests of the English-speaking community, and there is a high level of satisfaction in this service area.

**Table 20 – Responses Concerning Commitment of Organizations in Serving the Interests of Quebec Anglophones, Satisfaction of Anglophone Community with the Organizations**

	Commitment (%)	Satisfaction (%)	Access (%)
Primary and secondary education	55	66	67
Media and communications	70	82	81
Health and social services	55	62	63
Sports and recreation	57	66	66
Post-secondary education	59	69	69
Arts and culture	61	70	69
Employment	43	49	47
Daycare	40	41	42
Legal services	—	41	54

**and Access to Services, 2002**

Source: GPC International and Department of Canadian Heritage, *Official Languages-Minority Language Study* (Survey of Anglophone Quebecers), 2002.

In general, Anglophones surveyed report high levels of satisfaction with the services that are offered in their region. In the larger urban centres, 68 percent of Anglophones expressed satisfaction, compared with 71 percent residing in rural areas. When asked to evaluate whether there has been any change over the past five years, Anglophones in the larger urban centres are more inclined to indicate that things have deteriorated than those residing outside the larger centres. As for the areas in which Anglophones feel services have worsened, the most frequently cited are the health and social services and employment sectors. Media and communications is the sector in which they think that things have most improved.

**B. Institutional Representation and Leadership**

The institutional strength of a community is very often contingent on the type of support it receives from the state. In addition, leadership is a function of the input an individual can make to the community’s capacity for concerted action and to the total power of the community relative to the problems and opportunities it encounters (Breton, 1991). The strength of communal expressions of identity very often depends upon the extent to which a group is able to mobilize persons around shared interests and objectives. Those charged with defining and implementing a community’s agenda play a decisive role in shaping such objectives.

As discussed, Quebec Anglophones express greater concern over the commitment and access to services in such areas as health and social services, where government plays a predominant role, and register the most satisfaction with the media, where in effect the government has less influence.

There is variation in the degree to which Quebec Anglophones feel that governments adequately represent their interests. When asked, Quebec Anglophones in 2002 expressed the most confidence in federal (48 percent) and municipal (46 percent) governments and less confidence in provincial authorities (21 percent) (GPC-Canadian Heritage, 2002).

While there is less confidence in government to serve community interests, the role of non-governmental organizations takes on somewhat greater significance. When asked, some 55 percent of Anglophones agree that community-based (not-for-profit) organizations are committed to representing and serving the interests of Anglophones.

Advocacy groups have been the focus of much attention in representing the concerns of the Anglophone population. The GPC-Canadian Heritage survey asked whether the Anglophone community had strong and effective leadership to represent its interests. Some 48 percent of respondents agreed that it did, while 30 percent disagreed and another 19 percent were neutral. The earlier CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey yielded responses that suggested less effectiveness on the part of leadership as viewed by Quebec Anglophones. Moreover, there were significant variations in opinion on the degree of effectiveness of community leaders among respondents. Of the 40 percent of those who were unemployed, youth and seniors did not consider the leadership of the Anglophone community to be effective. In the case of other demographic groups, the rate rose to 50 percent, with the exception of university graduates, of whom nearly 60 percent regarded leadership as not being effective.

Opinion varied among Anglophones regarding who is best positioned to represent community concerns. Leadership can come from a variety of institutions within a community. Often social service and educational organizations feel they are better situated to defend community concerns in their particular area than broadly based advocacy groups. The CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey asked which organizations, institutions, associations or individuals Anglophones felt were most dedicated to representing or serving their interests on either a regional or provincial basis. Most Anglophones either didn't know or refused to respond to the question. Of the limited number of those who did answer, advocacy organizations such as Alliance Quebec were chosen more frequently than political representatives, school boards or health care institutions. Table 21 shows that there were important generational differences in opinion on this issue, with the younger generation opting for the education sector as being the most dedicated to representing the community's interests.

**Table 21 – Responses to: “Which Organizations, Institutions, Associations or Individuals Are Most Dedicated to Representing or Serving Your Interests on either a Regional or Provincial Basis?”**

	Total (%)	18-24 (%)	65+ (%)
Schools and school boards	7	11	7
Hospital and health services	4	7	3
Alliance Quebec	16	3	17
Elected representative	12	8	9
None	14	10	15
Other (specify)	8	6	7
Did not know or refused to respond	40	55	38

Source: CROP-Missisquoi Institute, *Survey of the English-Speaking Community of Quebec*, 2000.



## 9. *A*NGLOPHONE PRIORITIES AND CONCERNS

### *Summary:*

*While health and social services are ranked highest among Anglophones in terms of importance to the community, the most frequently cited single problem is equality of rights. The representation of Quebec Anglophones in the provincial public service contributes to an important sense of disempowerment among the community. A majority of Anglophones do not believe that they have equal chances of securing employment with government. Both federal and provincial governments recognize this situation and add that efforts are being made to recruit and retain more Anglophones.*

*Relations between Quebec Anglophones and Francophones have improved over the course of the 1990s. Friendship and marriages between members of the two principal language communities have been on the rise. Yet there remain important differences in the extent to which Anglophones and Francophones respectively believe that the future of their communities is threatened.*

49

Questions on whether leadership is effective in addressing community needs are connected to what the group regards as its main interests and priorities. The issues that communities deem important will evolve based on changing social, economic and political circumstances. During a referendum campaign, national unity may be regarded as the priority for the vast majority of Quebec Anglophones. So the timing in which the concerns of the population are assessed is an important consideration. Various government and non-governmental actors can play a crucial role in shaping the needs of the population and determining priorities. Effective leadership must demonstrate an ability to adapt to changing concerns of its constituents. Further related to this is the question of how organizational leadership defines its constituency.

It has been amply demonstrated that demographic changes have had a significant impact on the structures and institutions of the Anglophone population. In the absence of research on the historic priorities and concerns of Anglophones, it is more difficult to ascertain whether the trends described here have influenced such matters. On what basis are the differences of opinion among Anglophones most pronounced? These are issues that have been much debated over the years both within and outside Quebec's Anglophone community.

In attempting to provide insight into how Quebec Anglophones prioritize their concerns, the CROP-Missisquoi Institute survey asked respondents to rate the degree of importance of issues to the Anglophone community and then to identify the most important issue. There is an obvious relationship between the two as reflected in the themes repeatedly evoked by Quebec Anglophones. However, the distinction permits an understanding of how strongly felt the concerns are, and the extent to which certain issues are a catalyst for mobilization. Overall, health and social services issues were ranked as extremely or very important by the highest percentage of Anglophone respondents. Yet health and social services were not considered the most important issue facing the Anglophone community. Generally, it is the social issues or what might be described as more immediate needs that rank highest when Anglophones are asked to rate importance. When it comes to asking about the single most important issue, however, the political/identity questions appear to come to mind more frequently.

**Table 22 - “Extremely” or “Very Important” Responses Regarding the Importance of Selected Language Issues, by Selected Demographic Groups within the Quebec Anglophone Population**

	Health and social services (%)	Access to government services (%)	Language of signs (%)	Decrease in Anglophone community (%)
Total	80	70	54	51
Age 18-24	81	73	49	46
Age 65+	79	66	59	57
French conversation – yes	85	76	57	61
No French	81	67	57	57
No high school	77	61	62	54
University degree	89	77	53	62
Male	82	71	53	56
Female	86	76	60	62

Source: CROP-Missisquoi Institute, *Survey of the English-Speaking Community of Quebec*, 2000.

With 54 percent of Anglophones believing that the language of signs is an important issue, it ranks well behind health and social services. There appears no single issue that a majority of Quebec Anglophone consider the most important. However, the largest plurality contend that equal rights is the single most important issue facing the community. There does not appear to be much difference of opinion based on age, gender, education and bilingualism.

## A. Inclusion and Disempowerment

Seeing members of one's group reflected in government institutions and decision-making bodies is a critical issue for minority groups. Both the federal and Quebec provincial governments have acknowledged the need to address issues of representation of Quebec Anglophones in their respective public services. For its part, the Quebec government has produced a series of reports over the course of the 1990s lamenting its failure to increase the underrepresentation of Anglophones in the province's public service. Despite provisions in the *Quebec Charter of Rights* that make it obligatory for there to be employment equity programs for minority groups in the public service and in spite of hiring quotas, the share of mother-tongue Anglophones in the Quebec public service has dropped from 485 employees (or 0.83 percent) to 394 employees (or 0.7 percent) out of 57,468 in 2002 (Government of Quebec, Conseil du Trésor, March 2002).

51

According to the Treasury Board Secretariat of the Government of Canada, as of March 2003, Anglophones made up 72 percent of public service employees and Francophones made up 27 percent. Their corresponding share of the Canadian population is 75 percent and 24 percent, respectively. Outside the National Capital Region, 14.5 percent of all federal employees in Quebec were Anglophones, whereas Anglophones constitute 12.9 percent of the population in Quebec. Anglophone federal public servants in federal departments represent 7.6 percent (excluding the National Capital Region). The Treasury Board recognizes this situation and adds that efforts are being made to recruit and retain more Anglophones.

While there has been no systematic study of federal and provincial government appointments of Quebec, any examination of the list of such Quebec government appointments over the past two decades will illustrate the relative rarity of nominations of Anglophones. Limited input into government decision making on the part of Anglophones is a significant contributing factor to feelings of disempowerment.

Efforts to increase Anglophone representation in the provincial public service need to consider the important number of Anglophones who believe they do not have equal access to such jobs. Across all demographic groups, an important share of Anglophones believe that federal and provincial governments do not provide equal opportunities for employment. Overall, some 54 percent of Anglophones surveyed in 2000 (CROP-Missisquoi Institute, 2000) do not believe that the Government of Canada in Quebec provides equal access to jobs for Anglophones, and approximately 70 percent believe that similar inequity exists in the Quebec provincial government. Perceptions of such discrimination are somewhat higher among those Anglophones with university degrees and those employed full time.

Quebec Anglophones are not uninterested in being employed by government. The survey reveals that while interest in such opportunities is greater federally than provincially, it nonetheless remains reasonably high at both levels of government. Nearly half of respondents said they either have or would be interested in seeking a job with the Government of Canada, and 40 percent expressed similar interest with respect to employment with the Government of Quebec. Further, bilingual Anglophones and those between the ages of 18 and 24, expressed particularly high levels of interest in employment in either the federal or provincial public service.

## **B. Social Distance**

Increased marriage between Quebec Anglophones and Francophones is a function of rising social contacts between language groups. Therefore, it is increasingly difficult to talk about two solitudes when describing the relationship between Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers. In 2000, more than half of Quebec Francophones reported having frequent and/or occasional contact with Anglophones. The region in which one resides is by far the most important factor contributing to the degree of interaction between members of the two groups. On the Island of Montréal, nearly one-half of the Francophone population reported having frequent contact with Anglophones, and the same percentage indicated that they had close friends who were Anglophone. On a regional basis, there was some variation on this question with as many as 60 percent of respondents on the Island of Montréal reporting close friendships with Anglophones.

Other survey-based evidence supports the notion that relations between Quebec Anglophones and Francophones have improved over the course of the 1990s. When asked about the state of relations with Anglophones, 83 percent of Francophone respondents described them as either good or very good (6 percent described them as bad or very bad). In the western part of Montréal, 95 percent viewed the relationship positively. When asked whether the relationship has improved over the past ten years, 44 percent said it had (67 percent in the western part of Montréal, 52 percent in the centre and 37 percent in the east). Overall, some 43 percent felt that the relationship remained unchanged, while 6 percent said it had deteriorated.

According to a SOM/La Presse/Radio-Canada survey (2001), 80 percent of Anglophones say that they have made efforts to reach out to the Francophone population. When asked whether the relationship between Francophones and Anglophones was more positive now than ten years earlier, some seven out of ten Anglophones agreed. When asked to make the comparison between now and five years ago, some 40 percent described the attitude of the Francophone community towards the Anglophone community as more positive and another 40 percent as neutral. In urban areas, Anglophones were more inclined to say the change was more positive (42 percent) than were their regional counterparts (27 percent).

When exploring issues of social distance and the extent to which communities believe the relationship is improving, it is critical to consider the context in which the question is asked. It is widely acknowledged that the past 40 years in Quebec have been characterized by intense debates over language and identity. Undoubtedly, the 1995 Quebec referendum put more focus on the relationship between Quebec's language communities. In short, the state of the relationship can fluctuate according to the political climate of the day.

Clearly, more than ever, Anglophones are able to speak French, and uses that language more frequently in the workplace and in a variety of economic activities. To date, little research has been done on the extent to which the increased knowledge of French and increased contact with Francophones has a bearing on the attitudes of Anglophones around the main social and political questions confronting the society. The reduction in social distance described here has not given rise to increasing consumption of French-language media and cultural products by Quebec Anglophones, despite the increased interaction with Francophones and growing bilingualism.

While intergroup relations have improved, there persists important divergence in perceptions of linguistic and cultural concerns between Quebec Anglophones and Francophones. Among them are differences in the extent to which members of the two communities view the threat to their respective language communities. In effect, 61 percent of Francophone respondents believe that the future of the French language in Quebec is threatened. Such perceptions are held to a somewhat greater degree by those who speak French only than by Francophones who are able to conduct a conversation in English. For their part, about 78 percent of Quebec Anglophone respondents disagreed with the statement that the future of the French language in Quebec is threatened (nearly two-thirds strongly disagreed). Neither the age of the Anglophone respondents nor their ability to speak French much affected the extent to which they thought the French language is threatened.

When asked whether they thought the future of the English-speaking community in their region was threatened, 66 percent of the Anglophone respondents agreed (36 percent agreed totally and 30 percent agreed somewhat). Only 14 percent of Francophones agreed with the statement that the English-speaking community is threatened in their region, and there is little variation in such attitudes in the regions of the province.

Even though the majority of Anglophones did not believe that the French language is threatened, 51 percent agreed with the statement that it is important for the government of Quebec to maintain laws to protect French, while some 48 percent disagreed with this view. For their part, Quebec Francophones supported a number of concerns expressed by Quebec Anglophones, such as the right to health and social services in the English language. Also, twice as many Francophone Quebecers agreed than disagreed that the Government of Canada should support the development of the Anglophone community in their province (18 percent disagreed, 46 percent were neutral and 36 percent agreed).

## 10. CONCLUSION

It is always difficult to predict the future, and this certainly holds true for Quebec's English-speaking community. Over the past three decades, not only did the community decrease in size and weight but also it experienced a sort of makeover. The demographic trends reviewed here point to communities that are far more mixed in their composition, characterized by a growing multiethnic and multiracial community and, in the regions outside Montréal, by increased blending of English-French backgrounds. Institutionally, this has meant that schools as well as health and social services, while directing services to the English-speaking community, must also address pluralistic clienteles that reflect the dichotomy between Montréal and the rest of Quebec.

Anglophone Quebecers care about the future of their communities, with 95 percent agreeing that the group's future was important to them. As for the retention of young people in the region, some 30 percent of Quebec Anglophones expressed little confidence in the ability to do so. Such concerns are greater in Montréal (35 percent), where service in the English language is readily available, than elsewhere in the province (29 percent). Interestingly, when asked about the likelihood that the Anglophone community in their region will continue to exist in the future, 68 percent expressed confidence while 16 percent declared they were not confident – and those living outside the Montréal area were less pessimistic than those in the city. Optimism in the community's future prospects is by no means confined to demographic conditions. Further evidence of this emerges when Anglophones are asked about the capacity of the Anglophone community in their region to remain strong in the future. Some two-thirds surveyed in 2002 expressed confidence, and again the numbers were higher outside Montréal.

In short, the threat to the community that elicits such strong concern in surveys is not primarily about numbers or access to services, but rather relates to issues of inclusion and belonging. It is likely the reason that many Anglophones evoke equality as a major concern to community members. Neither the growing diversity nor *metissage* (mixing of languages) in the Quebec Anglophone population has modified this view, and exploring the trends in this report will allow for better support of the vitality of the Quebec Anglophone community.

# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1 – Quebec English-Speaking Immigrants, Defined as Mother Tongue English or English First Official Language Spoken, by Country of Birth of Respondent, 2001**

	Mother tongue English		English first official language spoken	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total immigrant population	76,871		224,870	
United States	13,760	17.9	14,855	6.6
Central and South America	4,375	5.7	8,705	3.9
Caribbean and Bermuda	17,325	22.5	18,215	8.1
Europe	24,730	32.2	94,690	42.2
United Kingdom	16,440		16,985	
Other Northern and Western Europe	2,890		15,530	
Eastern Europe	2,275		23,880	
Southern Europe	3,125		38,295	
Africa	3,225	4.2	9,805	4.3
Asia	12,790	16.6	77,720	34.5
West Central Asia and Middle East	2,595		17,815	
Eastern Asia	1,205		16,950	
Southeast Asia	4,410		17,025	
Southern Asia	4,580		25,930	
Oceania and other	665	0.9	8,800	0.4
Non-permanent residents	5,450		15,070	

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.



**Appendix 2 – Enrolment of Mother-Tongue Francophones and Anglophones in English-Language Schools, Selected Regions, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01**

	1991-92		1998-99		2000-01	
	MT French in English schools	MT English in English schools	MT French in English schools	MT English in English schools	MT French in English schools	MT English in English schools
Chaudière	102	94	154	54	180	62
Bas St. Laurent	13	25	12	24	12	11
Centre du Québec	N/A		162	42	281	42
Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean	221	158	373	119	369	102
Québec City	741	843	1,282	785	1,396	819
Lanaudière	348	423	681	462	795	557
Abitibi	296	590	241	525	214	490
Nord du Québec	70	105	73	75	85	77
Mauricie	497	277	788	188	802	219
Estrie	715	2,744	1,133	2,532	1,399	2,416
Outaouais	395	6,186	514	6,840	580	6,763
Laurentides	412	2,417	1,633	3,294	1,888	3,072
Laval	847	3,540	868	2,718	1,001	2,750
Quebec (province)	10,362	70,037	15,879	68,783	18,215	68,120
Cote Nord	158	877	196	820	222	728
Montréal	2,814	34,788	3,536	33,441	3,959	33,146
Montréal	2,419	15,560	4,089	15,732	5,066	15,542
Gaspésie	55	1,416	50	1,157	50	1,054

Source: Government of Quebec, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Statistics and Quantitative Studies, 1983-84, 1986-87, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01.

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